1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Cleanliness

It is generally asserted that all Marias are dirty, and object to washing. It is true that Maria women dancing late at night after lying on ground covered with the ashes of camp-fires, or men and women in the *penda* fields or after a long march, are dirty; and anyone who has tried to dress a Maria's wounds knows how dirt-encrusted they can be. Sleeping between fires, or over fires in an enclosed and low-roofed hut, does not promote cleanliness. But the real reason for the idea is the fact that the Hill Maria seldom washes his loin-cloth. On this, Russell and Hiralal say (III, p. 124):— 515

> 'In Bastar they seldom wash their clothes, as they think this impious, or else that the cloth would wear out too quickly if it were often washed. Here they set great store by their piece of cloth, and a woman will take it off before she cleans up her house, and do her work naked. It is probable that these wild Gonds, who could not weave, regarded the cloth as something miraculous and sacred, and, as already seen, the god Palo is a piece of cloth.'

This passage is all wrong. Palo is unknown to Maria or Muria Murias and Bison-horn Marias wash their clothes, and there are occasions when even a Hill Maria is bound to do so. He may not weave, himself, but he makes nets and baskets and twine, and always accepts the manufacturing processes of Kumhar potters, Kammar blacksmiths, Gharwa brass founders or Mahra weavers in a commonsense, rational way; he sees the work done quite often, and indeed there are many Marias who, in jail for homicide, have themselves become expert weavers of cloth or carpets. The reasoning processes of the savage are not unlike our own, and it is always safe to reject any such explanation as that he does not wash his cloth because he regards it as impious to wash something so sacred and miraculous, when there is available the commonsense economic explanation that he himself gives, that cloth costs money, of which he has never much, and that the oftener it is washed the sooner it wears out. So ordinarily, when a Hill Maria has his dip in a pool or river he takes off his filthy and inadequate loin-cloth and hangs it on a bush or rock while he washes his limbs, fastening it again all dirty on his clean body when he emerges. The women remove their loin-cloth, but not their *mudang*[1] and the cloth attached to it. Both husband and wife, however, must bathe in the morning after sexual intercourse and wash their loin-cloths; and a woman must invariably bathe and wash her loin-cloth, beating it out well on a stone, on leaving the menstruation hut or room at the end of her courses and of the four weeks following the birth of a child. Generally men and women wash or bathe every morning, and more often than not in the evening also. There are separate pools in [285 286] [833] [841 846]

[1] The *mudang* is explained below, under dress.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

● 515 the streams for the sexes, and they never bathe together. But the Hill Maria does not know the use of soap; occasionally his women follow the practice of the plains women and scour their hair with a plaster of black earth well rinsed out later. His nails are generally long and very dirty. The infant and the toddler are occasionally washed with water from a gourd. Where there is no stream near or water is scarce, the daily ablutions are often performed with water dipped from an earthen water-pot with a [415] gourd ladle, called *paghas* by the Hill Marias and *orka* in the plains, made from a gourd shaped like a large European smoking pipe; the straight stem is hollow and holed at the end; the stem is held near the bowl between the chin and collar-bone or shoulder and water tilted down from the bowl on to the body by dropping the other shoulder, while the hands rub the limb thus wetted. Needless to say, ablutions thus performed are not very effective.

The Bison-horn Maria also on occasion 'washes' with the ladle, but generally is cleaner than the Hill Maria, and is beginning to buy cheap soap in the bazaars. He will wash his hands before a meal, unlike the hill man. He has his daily dip, but generally in the evening only; and the women definitely bathe only in the evening on their way back from the fields. Both bathe naked, but they wash their clothes far more readily than the Hill Maria, living indeed in the 'bazaar' plains with several Mahra weavers in their midst.

514 The Hill Maria, unlike the Hindu, does not wash after defeca-
515 tion, but wipes himself with leaves. The plainsman is learning the Hindu habit. Neither a Hill nor a Bison-horn village is ever as noisome as the average Hindu village of so 'advanced' a tract as the Maratha country of Nagpur or Berar, where at night the village streets are used as a public latrine and it is difficult to pass clean-shod in the morning. The Hill Maria generally retires into the jungle to ease himself, and the Bison-horn either does the same or uses the *bari* or vegetable garden at the back of his house.

356 A Hill Maria's house is really clean only for the first month or
361 two after it is made, and there is no regular re-plastering of the floors with cow-dung and mud. The interior is rapidly grimed with smoke and dust; and if the Maria has any article he wishes to keep clean he stores it up a tree or in his granary. But his house seldom has to last him more than four or five years, after which, his *penda* slope being exhausted, he and the other villagers move their houses to one of the alternative village sites, and his old house is ultimately burnt, either deliberately or as a matter of course in the annual firing of the forest grasses. The Bison-horn Maria, on the other hand, is now a dweller in permanent habitations, save for an occasional shift for superstitious reasons. His houses are therefore

[see CA 1.116 MP. 418-419. - Analyst]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

other villages. Though this is called the 'remains-eating' feast, yet actually fresh meat is killed and cooked, because women and girls, who are not allowed to attend the sacrifices, are equally debarred from eating any part of the sacrificial victims. The day ends in *landa* drinking and dancing. In these first-fruits *pandum* dances the bison-horn head-dresses used not to be worn, and in the dance following the *pandum* for new *mahua* and new mangoes men and women dancers dance together, and not separately as in all other Bison-horn Maria dances.

We come now to the great vernal sowing festival with its attendant dancing and hunting that takes place on or near the full moon day of Chait (March-April), and corresponds to the Chait-rai festival of the Bhattras, Parjas and Murias. It starts on a Sunday, five or six days after the *Marka Pandum*. *Landa* is brewed in profusion in every house for days in advance, and as much *mahua* liquor procured from the excise shops as household funds and the excise rules permit. Sexual continence is, as in all these ceremonies, the rule for the night before the festival begins, and in some villages is ensured by all the men sleeping together that night and until the last ceremony is over, generally in the *kadri-bera* field or at the place from which the ritual *weta* hunt sets off.

The Wijja Pandum, Wijja Weta and Jur Weta

The *perma* fasts next morning, and after the men of the village have had their morning meal goes at about noon to the *mahua* tree in the *kadri-bera* or *wijj-erhu* (see pp. 205-6) field, with a supply of rice and an egg, and the men accompany him. He cuts a small bough off the tree, to which in some villages he first sacrifices a black cock. He clears and plasters with cow-dung and water the usual small rectangle of ground, and in the centre makes a hole in which he plants the *mahua* bough and a plant of *dab* (*Pollinea argentea*) grass. In front of this he sprinkles rice and egg-shells, in which he sets an egg upright on its end in the name of the Village Mother, or of Bhu-deo and Bhu-devi. He then takes up a *datun* or tooth-cleaning twig of *mahua*, splits it longitudinally in his teeth, and throws the split pieces three times on the ground. For the pieces to fall one on the other like a saltire each time is the best of omens for the coming hunt and the ensuing harvest; for them to fall apart is a bad omen. Sometimes this consultation of the omens does not take place in the *kadri-bera* field, but in the forest at the place from which the ritual hunt is to start; there sometimes a rough altar of bows and arrows, as in the illustration opposite, is made, and the *perma*, facing the east, places on the ground before the altar three heaps of mixed bran and egg-shells in the name of each of the three Ban Kunwaris or Forest-maidens, and on each

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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Verrier Elwin

Bison-horn Maria mother with her newly-born child at Maranda. Note the arrow driven into the ground where the placenta is buried, and the stone for bathing

[End Plate P]

THE COURSE OF MURIA LIFE: CHILDHOOD

841 Nahani Deo. In some villages, however, the older women do not allow the girl to go to a stream or tank at all. They bring her water and let her bathe and wash her clothes on a stone in the compound.

We can understand how the rules affecting the menstruating motiari must be particularly strict when we remember that the ghotul is a shrine built by Lingo Pen, still sacred to him, and that the children within its walls are not only specially protected from marauding ghost or evil nightmare, but are also subject to the taboos and disciplines of *le monde sacré*. The girl therefore is forbidden for a period varying from four to seven days to enter the ghotul or even touch its fence. She must never, of course, touch a chelik at this time. If she did, they told us at Kajen, he would go mad. Even if her shadow fell on him while he was drinking, he would fall senseless to the ground. Should a girl go into the ghotul concealing her condition, the ashes of the ghotul fire would scatter in all directions and might continue to do so for two or three days, a sure sign that Lingo Pen is offended. When the culprit is discovered, she must offer a bottle of liquor to the insulted deity.

There is naturally considerable risk that a girl may begin her period during the night or evening while she is in the ghotul. A chelik in Munjmeta described what is done. 'She feels the warm blood, she shows it to her chelik and goes away at once.' 'Once', he said, 'his motiari did not realise what had happened and spent the night in the ghotul. When it was discovered in the morning, he himself was fined three long pieces of wood.'

The motiari is not, of course, allowed to go on the Diwali, Chherta and Mahua Dandar excursions while she is in this condition. If the period only begins after she has started out, she must make an offering to the local god and return home. Should any motiari begin her period at the moment when the chelik are about to start for their Pus Kolang dances, they abandon the trip. If during a boy's absence on this expedition his 'ghotul wife' should menstruate, he is warned of the fact by a dream and must make offerings to Lingo Pen. A chelik may go to the ghotul even while his special partner is in her period, but no one may take tobacco from him. The others tease him, saying, 'Don't worry, she'll be all right in two or three days. Perhaps you dug a little too deeply last night'.

If a girl is to be married, and her period begins on the eve of her marriage, this is postponed for a day; then she takes a bath and declares that officially all is well. Once when I went to Borgaon for a wedding, the bride entered her period on the critical day and the ceremony was postponed. On another occasion, when the omens did not come right, the people made a search through the wedding party to see if any relative was concealing this condition.

841 A girl does not bathe her whole body until the flow of blood ceases, but she does change and wash her pubic cloth, though she has to be very careful where
515 she puts it to dry for fear a witch should steal it. This cloth must never be touched by a man. It is either thrown away after every period or hidden
291 in a safe place outside the house. Along the banks of the Boroda river near Temrugaon I noticed many earthen pots, some floating in a backwater, others hidden in bushes. These were the pots in which the menstrual cloths were boiled to get them clean.

841 At the end of the period the girl goes as secretly as possible to a stream for her bath. She must be careful not to meet any man on this day, for should
515 his shadow fall upon her, her first child will resemble him. In some villages the girl must take two baths, in others she must take three. After the first bath she cleans and cow-dungs the room where she will sleep, washes all her clothes and sprinkles oil and haldi in the house and on her body. She then

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

841 sleeps at home for a day, still subject to most of her taboos. On the following
●515 day she bathes again and anoints herself, or allows her mother or sister to anoint her. In most villages she is free after the second bath. She may go again to the fields and in the evening to the ghotul. In Binjhli, however, and in a few other villages, I have found the rule that she must have three baths: the Deer Bath on the fifth day after the beginning of her period, the Lizard Bath on the sixth and the Hare Bath on the seventh. Only on the evening of the seventh day may the girl return to the ghotul. This is partly a hygienic measure—the Muria consider that a girl who finishes her bathing on her fourth day is 'as dirty as a Hindu' but one who takes three baths is 'white as a Raja'—partly a measure of birth control. The Muria
[842] share the universal Indian belief that conception is most likely to occur on the day the menstrual flow ceases.[1] This is commonly on the fourth day, and so by segregating the motiari for the dangerous period the Binjhli chelik consider that the risk of pregnancy is lessened. Even so, when a girl returns to the ghotul after her menses, she warns the boy with whom she is sleeping: 'I have just bathed my head; if there is a baby, it will be yours: will you be responsible for it?' In Binjhli the chelik told us that the girls make their
[833] lovers promise to practise *coitus interruptus* on this day, and it is the duty of the Belosa to warn the girls about it. In Markabera, however, the girls returned to the ghotul directly their flow stopped, and no special precautions were observed.

When the girl returns to the ghotul after her period the boys rag her. 'O
841 Tiloka, the bank was broken, the water was pouring out like a river, we were
522 tired of mending it. But now all the water has run out and the field is dry.' Or sometimes the boys say, 'Your pot had a hole in it, but today you mended it with lac'. And again, 'Who dug the hole and let the water out?' And that evening they pretend she is still unclean and cry, '*Chi chi chi*; don't touch me!' And they may say to her special chelik, 'What a lucky man you are: your rice has ripened quickly: tonight you can cut the crop'. But it is said that after the first menstruation, in those ghotul where there are ghotul mates, the chelik treats his girl with special tenderness. 'There is no end to his love for her; he doesn't let her sleep all night.' In a mysterious way, his motiari has become a woman; she is different, mature, and doubly precious.

As we would expect, the girls often suffer from dreams at this time. In
841 Padbera they said that the Yer Kanyang who lives in the river feeds on the
787 blood of washed-out menstrual cloths. This naiad is very lonely with no one to keep her company; so she visits the motiari in the menstruation hut and plays with them in their dreams. Because these girls dance with her all night, they are slack and weary during the day. The girls at Padbera can tell when they are about to begin their periods because they dream of the Yer Kanyang and see the river. The river-dream is everywhere prophetic of the period, especially if husband and wife or chelik and his ghotul mate dream of a river in flood. This is an important dream, for it enables the women who are favoured with it to beware of going to tabooed places where their period might begin unexpectedly. If girls dream of fire or of flying up into the sky, it is a warning that they will suffer from irregular menstruation. The end of the period is heralded by a dream of a dried-up pond.

Breach of the menstruation rules is very serious. The importance attached
841 to them may be seen by the interesting and curious case of the goddess Pendra-
776 wandin. This goddess, whose story is given on page 178, was originally

[1] Cf. J. J. Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India* (London, 1930), Vol. II, p. 368

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Bison-Horn Maria

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Hirmo, a Bison-horn Maria girl washing her hands

Plate LIV

Bison-horn Maria dancers

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

then again at the usual time. At Palari, where the girls take the boys' *massi*-mats home with them every morning and bring them in the evening, the first salutation is called *Massi-johar*, for it is then they give the mats to their chelik.

In some ghotul, especially those where they do not massage every night, the two leading girls crack the boys' fingers as they go round.

Immediately after the Joharni, a girl distributes finely-powdered tobacco and sometimes a supply of leaf-pipes to the boys. The tobacco is taken from the ghotul store, to which all must contribute.

The motiari often go outside for a few minutes. The Belosa may now arrange how the massage is to be done and decide whether they will sleep in the ghotul that night and, if so, how they will pair off. When they are ready they come back into the ghotul and each girl goes straight to a boy to comb his hair and massage him. There does not seem to be any rule about this. A girl is not bound to massage her own ghotul partner, nor does the fact of massaging imply that the two will sleep together. In practice, however, the elder girls generally massage the elder boys.

In the Chota Dongar Pargana, the girls go to massage the chelik in the very place where they are going to sleep. Elsewhere they sit in a circle or grouped round the fire, sometimes scattered about the room. If the boy is asleep the motiari rouses him and makes him sit up; she sits or kneels behind him, very close, with her knees round his body. With her comb she begins to shake out and arrange the boy's hair.

The combs are small and it is often difficult to get them through the long unruly locks of the chelik. In Masora the method of combing was to tap the head rather roughly, then to twist the comb round, digging it into the skull; then the hair was pulled out and fretted and at last tied again into a bun. The digging in of the edge of the comb is known as *pitis pilis kiyāna*; it is intended to kill lice and clear away scurf.

In Pupgaon, the combing was much gentler, and was only done every three days. In Bandopal, the girls did not tap the head but twisted the comb through the hair and rubbed the scalp in a very soothing way. When we were at Binjhli they were not combing at all, and in Khutgaon after a dog had relieved itself on the leader's turban, the Siraha forbade the girls to touch the chelik's heads. But generally the combing is done in the way I have described. When a lot of girls are at it together, the clicking of the combs against a score of hard heads makes a remarkable noise, reminding me of a phrase by Roy Campbell:

> While her sharp nails, in slow caresses ruled,
> Prowl through his hair with sharp electric clicks.

But this is not the end of the comb's work. The motiari now uses it to titillate the skin of the back and arms. She rubs the points of the comb very gently to and fro, up and down, over the back and then when she has massaged that, takes each arm in turn and runs the comb up and down the skin.

Now the massage begins. In many ghotul (in Binjhli, for example, and in Bandopal and Almer among many others) this is done with the oily waste of the mahua or karanji seed, and cleans as well as refreshes. In Gorma, in May when they burn *dahi*, they massage the whole body with karanji waste. 'For in the old days this is how Tallur Muttai used to massage Kadrengal.' In other ghotul and at other seasons the massage is done with the hands alone.

The motiari begins by passing her open hands gently over the back, rubs a little harder, presses back on the ball of the hand, pushes more and more vigorously and always upward till the chelik nearly falls forward on his face,

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

301 The cowrie belt is almost unknown, but the chelik carry strings of cowries, bells, beads and tobacco-pouches at the waist.

In this area, the girls have either floppy brass *pairi* slipping down over the heels, or the thick heavy brass *tin-kor* above the ankles.

Finally, in the extreme east of Kondagaon, the chelik recapture something of the aesthetic attractiveness of the Jhoria. Once more elaborate necklaces of small red and blue beads appear; a head-band of cowries and black sago palm fibre is often worn (Fig. 89). The chelik's turban is specially attractive:
291 it is tied straight round into a box with one flap hanging over the top, the other falling behind. The boys themselves attach pretty fringes of pink, mauve and red tassels to these flaps.

For protection against rain, all the Muria make large round hats of leaves placed between a double bamboo framework, and long shields of the same material to hang from their shoulders. In a few villages near the Abujhmar they make the *tarali*-cloak of strips of retted bark characteristic of the Hill Maria.

II. Hair-dressing

302 The hair has the greatest emotional and artistic significance for the Muria.
832 You may have the most beautiful features, the fairest colour, the finest figure, but if the hair is badly dressed you will not be thought attractive.

Care of his hair is the first and simplest service that a motiari can render
302 to a chelik; it is during the hair-combing in the evening that friendships become
● 515 intimate and proposals are made; wherever she is, in camp for a marriage or festival, resting in the heat of the day while working on the roads, or just
524 sitting in the house, a girl takes any chance she can of cleaning a boy's head, and examining it for lice, 'the thousand babies housed in a dry tree', 'the black cows that live in the thick forest, bothering everyone and drinking red water', 'the tigers that breed so quickly in the jungle'. She catches them with the end of her comb, or with her fingers, and kills them with thumb and forefinger. 'Ten went to hunt', says the riddle, 'but two did the killing.'

302 The chelik keep their hair fairly long. A straight fringe is cut across the forehead, and from the parting above it the hair is brushed back and tied in a bun usually covered by the turban. Some of the Muria living under the shadow of the Abujhmar follow the Hill Maria custom of shaving the whole head except for a patch on the crown which is carefully combed back and tied in a knot.

The chelik cut and trim their hair once every month or so, when the motiari who comb it tell them to. They cut and shave each other's heads with small razors made by the village Lohar. The motiari keep their boys closely shaven as to their chins, but they seem to like a good moustache. There is no other reason for shaving: the Muria, except those who have begun to imitate Hindu customs, do not shave at funerals or other religious occasions.

Girls do not cut their hair. They part it down the centre, and very carefully smooth it down and back. Behind the head they wind it over the small wooden blocks called *hunjar balla* (Fig. 91) which are carved for them by the chelik, and tuck it in underneath, fixing it in place with the *hunjar hoio*, beautifully made wooden pins (Fig. 90)—also the gifts of chelik—to which are often attached bunches of cowries, coloured wool or strings of beads.

Both boys and girls treat their hair with oil, generally oil specially expressed by a motiari, a mother or sister. Many Muria now carry little bazaar mirrors which they constantly use.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria

PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND POSSESSIONS

In some villages of the Bomra Pargana, if a comb falls down, it must be left where it is for a whole day. No one else may pick it up, and the owner should say nothing to anybody.

FIG. 90. Wooden hair-pins from the Jhoria area
Longest pin 4¼"
(*See p. 386*)

In most places, there is a rule that when a motiari marries she should remove her combs within a certain time. Naturally if she has a dozen or more in her hair, the presents of a ghotul lover, it is only proper for her to return them to him when she marries someone else. But suppose it was her own husband who gave them to her, or another girl? Then she continues to wear them. It is not safe to say that a girl with combs is a motiari, one without combs a wife. I have seen women with three children wearing them. But usually the smart silvered ones are removed within a year of marriage.[1]

IV. CLEANLINESS

The Muria are, on the whole, a clean and tidy people. The chelik and motiari especially are devoted to their toilet, wash their clothes frequently,

[1] The Lakher and Lushai share the Muria objection to other people using their combs. 'They fear that if a man who is subject to headaches or who has a vampire soul uses another's comb', the owner may suffer in the same way.—Parry, op. cit., p. 34.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

515 bathe daily, and keep their hair in beautiful condition. They have to—they are always on duty.

Both boys and girls bathe naked. A party of motiari goes to a stream, and when they are sure they are alone, they remove their little wraps and plunge into the water. They rub their limbs and bodies with mud, shake out their hair, rub in handfuls of mud, rinse it again and again. They have nothing corresponding to towels, so they sit in the sun to dry.

If, however, they have to bathe in some more public place such as a well or tank, they first wash legs, arms and face. Then the girl removes the upper covering of her body and tucks it between her legs or wraps it round her waist, and washes back and breasts in a way that does not wet her cloth.

Chelik usually bathe naked, even when there are other people about.

For washing at home, there are often hollowed-out trunks set up on a couple of supports with a run-away out through the wall of the house to some favourite tree such as a sago palm. A wife pours water over her husband's hands and feet, and often over his whole body. A common method of washing is to fill a long-handled gourd with water, tuck it under the chin and tip out the water over the hands which are thus free to be rubbed together.

There are gaps in the general tradition of cleanliness. No one seems to think it necessary to bathe after sexual intercourse. For the chelik and motiari this would, of course, compel them to admit that they had had it. The following lines are sarcastic: they are a fragment of a taunt song used during a marriage.

> Your son is bathing in water,
> At the hour of Raja Karan.[1]
> Your daughter is bathing in water,
> When intercourse is over.

The Muria do not usually wash their hands before food, though they do sometimes. They do not wash after defecation. Old women are often very dirty, as well they might be considering the hard toil that is put upon them. It takes time to go down to a stream to bathe; it needs strength and energy to bring water for a bath; an old widow rarely has either. And so we have many sayings from unsympathetic neighbours scorning these poor and simple people. 'A Muria woman never husks more rice than for a single meal and never covers her bottom which is always thick with dirt.' 'A Muria may be rich as a Raja, but he will always be dirty as a pig.'

Such dirt as there is may usually be traced to poverty, a poverty not infrequently due to the exactions and exploitation of the Muria's critics. It is true that both men and women dirty their buttocks by sitting on the ground—they tuck up their scanty clothes to save them from being worn out. So too if the cloth is dirty, it is because frequent washing will shorten its life—and then who will provide another? The well-to-do Indian or European critic, with servants to bring him water for his hands before a meal, does not always remember that when you have to bring water from a distant stream with your own hands, you tend to use it with more economy.

Yet in spite of poverty, in spite of a generally indifferent water-supply, in spite of a complete lack of toilet accessories (how many English women would keep as smart and fresh as a motiari without one of those aids to nature on which they so greatly rely?), the Muria keep themselves and their houses clean and pleasant enough.

[1] Raja Karan is a legendary king who had a passion for cleanliness.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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almost roughly, it grows gentler and gentler until at last the girl's hands are moving caressingly, tenderly over the arms and bodies of their boys, rousing affection and stirring with every gesture new desire.

The use of the comb to titillate the skin has a similar effect: Muria boys and girls are susceptible to tickling, which has been described as 'the most intellectual mode of touch sensation and that with the closest connexion with the sexual sphere'. As the motiari dresses her chelik's hair and with her comb gently tickles and stimulates his back and arms, he responds by fondling her breast, by stroking her legs (which are usually placed round his body; as she massages, the girl often grips the boy's waist between her knees) or by boldly tickling her. Certain types of massage are specially exciting. The girl stands above the boy, bending over him, and rubs downwards, passing her hands over the stomach down to the specifically erogenous region which thus receives a powerful tonic; sometimes she massages the legs, pushing her hands right up to the groin.

It is curious that with all this, the kiss as a means of sensory excitement is but little used.[1] It is not unknown—far from it—but it is something that goes in fashions; a ghotul discovers it, as at More Berma, and then everybody kisses. But even then the kiss does not appear to be on the lips, nor does the tongue play any part; for the Muria the kiss is a highly concentrated form of massage with the lips upon the skin. Boys kiss the face and breasts; I have never heard of *fellatio* being practised, but it may be—the description of it causes no offence.

After touch, smell is a powerful stimulant. Charming is the freshness of the open hill and forest, but more charming still, say the chelik, is the smell of perspiration, oil, wet earth, a suggestion of urine, all tempered by the bitter-sweet wood-smoke, which is regarded as the peculiar aroma of the ghotul.[2] The ghotul smell is unforgettable; it is not unpleasant even to a stranger's nostrils; and boys have told me that they have found it a strong sexual stimulant. 'The smell of the wood-smoke in a girl's hair, how exciting it is!' exclaimed a chelik at Markabera. So is the smell of the cow-shed clinging to boy or girl, a clean healthy smell with good associations. At Temrugaon the boys loved the scent of the marigolds that the motiari put in their hair and declared them to be their favourite flower.

No artificial scents are used, and this means that both boys and girls have to be very careful about bodily cleanliness; an unpleasant vaginal odour is mentioned as specially inhibiting to desire; there is a saying—*muh sundri gänd gandri*—however beautiful the face, if a girl has a dirty body, she will not be admired.

But 'the most usual method of attaining tumescence', says Havelock Ellis, 'a method found among the most various kinds of animals, from insects and birds to man—is some form of the dance'.[3] 'It is everywhere the instinctive object of the male, who is very rarely passive in the process of courtship, to assure by his activity in display, his energy or skill or beauty, both his own

[1] It is a commonplace of anthropology that primitive peoples do not kiss; I have always wondered how investigators can be so sure of this. The ordinary word in Gondi is *buriyäna*, 'to kiss' Trench says that the word as used in Betul—*burrdna*—means 'to kiss, of humans, to nose, of dogs'. Ward gives *nahilia* as a Gondi word for kiss used in the Mandla District (*nähäna* means 'to lick'). I also found the Muria using a word *lovandi*, which was said to mean 'kiss', but I am doubtful about this.

[2] The Uraon *dhumburia* have a quite different smell, in which the odour of urine is much more prominent. The Bison-horn Maria again have a strong, and rather attractive, smell, not unlike the Savara but quite distinct from the Muria.

[3] Havelock Ellis, *Analysis of the Sexual Impulse*, p. 53.

OTHER RECREATIONS

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43. The basket broke and out came the tiger.
A pig excretes.
44. A Lamana woman goes along throwing parched rice on the path
A she-goat excretes.
45. The dish comes from a Raja's house; touch it and you swell.
Fire.
46. On the dry tree blossoms a flower.
Fire.
47. A small boy pulling hard puts on his dhoti.
A man winds rope into a grain-bin.
48. The sacrificed goat drinks water.
Hemp.
49. Lick quickly and fall down.
Broom.
50. Pick up the bundle and it talks.
Broom.
51. Nobody knows the noise of its beating *pat-pat.*
Eyebrow.
52. If anything is thrown in the two tanks, they overflow.
Eyes.
53. Even little fish can't get into this shining tank.
The eye.
54. A new plough, a new yoke, a new field yields a crow.
A new daughter-in-law.
55. It is hard to pick up, but you can throw it away with your left hand.
Ashes from the hearth.
56. A chelik uses up a whole cart-load of toilet-twigs.
The hearth.
57. At the time of yoking—one:
At time of loosing—two.
Toilet-twig used to clean the teeth, which usually splits after use. [575]
58. Five men are ploughing the fields and ten men are collecting the earth with a harrow.
A twig for cleaning the teeth. (Five men means five fingers and ten men means fingers of both the hands.)
59. The hornless bullock grows a horn.
Moon.
60. It always turns up punctually.
Sun.
61. Four are cold, four are hot, four are wet. The deer has twelve toes: each grazes by itself.
The year.
62. The black cock gathers it; the white cock spreads it out to dry.
Night and day.
63. In the stream sits a decorated bird.
Money in a string-bag.